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functions, and the nations would soon discover that better expert advice could be secured by a selection of experts made by the Commission of Appointment than by each nation insisting on being represented in the working organs of the Consociation.

The ratification of the revised constitution would be made by referendum in each nation where a referendum was possible. Every ballot cast understandingly in favor of the revised constitution would increase the power of those appointed to wield the collective moral influence. Where referendum was impossible, legislative ratification would be necessary. The ratification of any kind of a superconstitution above the nations, whether voluntary or compulsive, is not an exercise of the treaty-making power, but is an exercise of the most transcendent and solemn power which any nation or people possesses. The people of each nation should exercise this power wherever possible.

It may be said that the alterations of the Convention for Pacific Settlement in the manner proposed in the above suggestions would weaken the Convention and make it less adequate as a constitution than it now is. But we are dealing with the force of collective moral influence. This force cannot be created or wielded by physical or moral compulsion. It is in essence persuasion, and can only be created and wielded through persuasion. The principles upon which this force can be brought into existence and made to operate are principles partly of psychology and partly of political science. The science of organizing this influence is in its infancy, but this seems to be certain—that the essential feature of every constitution of a corporation whose object is to wield this super-force must be the entire absence of compulsion of any kind. Its physical weakness must be its moral strength.

If this be true, the analogies drawn from the compulsive organization of States—even federal States—are wholly inapplicable when plans for unifying the nations are being considered; and these analogies must be banished from our minds completely and permanently. The analogies which are to be applied are those drawn from the organization of the wholly voluntary societies which exist among individuals and the wholly voluntary federations which exist among business and charitable corporations; in which the members voluntarily submit themselves to the collective moral influence and cohere in harmonious unity, because they realize that through this voluntary submission they serve their own self-interest and attain their highest self-development.

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY IN CONFERENCE

By MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD
Secretary, Woman's Peace Party

THE second annual meeting in Washington of the Woman's Peace Party was timed to coincide with the opening of Congress, so that important Congressional measures could be discussed and hearings be held. Miss Jane Addams, national chairman, presided at the great mass-meeting in the Belasco Theater, which closed the series of seven sessions with an impressive presentation of the international and national peace problems.

Professor Balch, of Wellesley College, a member of the unofficial neutral conference now meeting in Stockholm, declared in her opening address that it is "a common idea in Europe that the United States has no other interest in the war than to make money out of it." She maintained that "a complete victory on either side would be likely to bring with it a peace full of the promise of future struggle." She had large evidence that the masses in every land desire an honorable peace and she urged letters to the press and to Congress and public meetings, as well as private effort on the part of all, to relieve us from the bitter reproach of being willing to suffer by Europe's agony.

The Sunday program included "A Citizen Army," by Mrs. Mead, of Boston; an address on "Patriotism," by Mrs. Ella Flagg Young; "The American Union Against Militarism," by Miss Lillian Wald, chairman of its board of directors; "The Effect of the War on Women," by Miss Janet E. Richards, of Washington, and "Dependent Nationalities in Relation to World Peace," by Miss Grace Abbott, of the Immigrant's Protective League. Mrs. Wm. Kent appealed for funds to carry on the work of the organization, and in fifteen minutes \$5,000 was raised in gifts and pledges, which is about one-third the sum needed for the year's budget. The program closed with an inspiring address by Prof. Anna Garlin Spencer upon "The War Settlement," which held the great audience spellbound until the end.

One afternoon of the regular sessions was devoted to discussion of questions that concern congressional action. One of these was the principle involved in the Keating bill for a commission on Oriental problems. A very satisfactory hearing was subsequently held before a House committee upon this bill. Miss S. P. Breckenridge presented as speakers Mrs. Kent, of California; Mrs. Mead, of Honolulu; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and Miss Jane Addams, who urged that one or more commissions of Americans and Orientals should be appointed to study and report on the complex and serious questions at issue between the Orient and the United States.

Mrs. Frank Cothren, a young New York lawyer, presented startling and impressive facts before the Conference when speaking on the proposition "That legislative action be taken in accordance with the principle that investments by capitalists in one country in the resources of another shall be made at the risk of investors without claim to the military protection of their own government." The Conference laid stress upon the importance of calling the attention of our people and foreign nations as well to the remarkable provisions of the Hensley rider on the naval appropriations bill, and it was agreed that the President should be requested to make a public proclamation of it on New Year's day.

One whole evening was given to the question of military training in the schools in view of efforts that will be made to present bills in most of our legislatures this winter to require military training. It was manifest that a widespread movement for compulsory physical training must be begun unless the inadequate and one-sided physical development of military drill be imposed by uninformed legislatures. The Chamberlain bill was especially condemned, and subsequently an arrangement was made for a congressional hearing on it.

Reports were given showing about 25,000 members and twenty-three State chairmen in the Woman's Peace Party. Miss Addams was re-elected national chairman. The most important resolution included one which earnestly advocates opposition to all military training of minors in or out of school, and recommends that the effort to defeat this take the place of securing modern, scientific, physical education and outdoor life; one that urges cooperation with the American Neutral Conference Committee to secure public support of any effort our Government might make toward a just and lasting peace, and one that endorses the platform of the World Court League and urges members to make the public familiar with it.

The whole Conference showed that, despite the growth of militarism and the amazing apathy of the American people to the sufferings of Europe as measured by their relatively small gifts for relief, there is a staunch, courageous body of women here who face the situation with a statesman's vision and realize the nature of America's

great opportunity. These have united with the representatives of twenty other nations, belligerent and neutral, in an International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, of which Miss Addams is international chairman, which will convene thirty-five delegates from each of these countries at the time and place of the war settlement. There they will confer on measures to help bridge the gulf that war has created and to promote permanent peace.

Under the auspices of the American delegation, a memorable Conference for Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities immediately followed the close of the woman's meetings. Fourteen nationalities were represented, ranging from Albania, the most ancient, with a population of 1,600,000, to Ukrainia, with its 22,000,000 inhabitants. Practically all were united in earnest demand for complete local autonomy, but not for independence; federation with other equally autonomous States seemed to them to be the only assurance of permanent peace.

BRIEF PEACE NOTES

A PRESUMABLY impartial journalist, Mr. David Lawrence, of the New York *Evening Post*, has recently visited Mexico in company with Sr. Alberto Pani, of the Mexican Commission, and has returned with certain close-range impressions of the condition of the part of the country now definitely under Constitutionalist rule. He is characterized by his paper as one who speaks Spanish fluently, knows the Mexican people, has many friends among them, is personally acquainted with Carranza and his staff, and has intimate knowledge of events in the Diaz and Madero administrations which led up to the Carranza régime. On the subject of the security of the present government he quotes various sufferers from its rule who, despite their grievances, hold a decidedly optimistic attitude. Among these are the resident newspaper correspondents, several "Científicos," foreign consuls, American business men, and others who are not directly involved in the Carranzista reconstruction work. These give their assurance that conditions are rapidly improving all over the country, and that the present government gives ample evidence of security, barring outside interference. Military forces are more closely allied with Carranza than ever before. There is no indication of any political disturbance intervening before 1920, when Carranza's first term as President will expire. The foremost aspirants then, it seems, will undoubtedly be Generals Gonzales and Obregon, who now form, with Carranza, the triumvirate of government. Each of these "will set out to make a record *under Carranza*." As the Mexican constitution does not permit a second term, this is the natural and logical thing to expect. Meanwhile, Carranza's election in February is regarded as hardly more than a formality, so certain is it to take place without opposition. Various interior circumstances are shown highly hopeful. Paper money has been entirely supplanted by gold and silver. Banks are stable, labor is being cared for intelligently, educational institutions are installed wherever and whenever finances will permit. Graft is being rooted out with determination and

considerable skill. The leaders respect and follow Carranza and—such is still the feudal state, of the Republic in many ways—the people follow the leaders. The difference between the Madero and the present administrations is stated as "the difference between an idealist without administrative ability and a practical man with radical principles, a politician of experience and a capable executive." But the "circulo vicioso," says this writer, still continues. Money and arms are needed to establish a firm government and to put down the rebels. And these our government has said it will not supply until a firm government has been established and the rebels put down. We have said we want the Mexicans to trust us and regard us as their friends. They declare that they are willing to do so when we have terminated the vicious circle. Villa declares Carranza supine in permitting the gringo still to occupy Mexican soil, and thereby wins to himself soldiers and support. We declare that only when Villa is crushed will the gringo go. That is another vicious circle. "That's why," says Mr. Lawrence, "Mexico can't understand the United States."

. . . The recent statement of Viscount Edward Grey, that "a long and bitter struggle still confronts the European Powers," runs counter to various hopes raised for an early end of the war. His position is that nothing but an Allied victory can justify thoughts of peace. In defense of Great Britain's acts prejudicial to neutral interests, his statement continues: "It is, I know, difficult for those who have no immediate contact with the war to realize with what painful anxiety men and women in this country must regard even the smallest acts which tend to increase, if only by a hair's breadth, the danger in which their relatives and friends daily stand, or to prolong, if only by a minute, the period during which they are to be exposed to such perils. Whatever inconvenience may be caused to neutral nations by the exercise of belligerent rights, it is not to be compared for an instant to the suffering and loss occasioned to mankind by the prolongation of the war, even for a week."